

CHRISTIAN  
OPINION *on*  
*Jewish Nationalism*  
*and a Jewish State*

*With a Foreword by* MORRIS S. LAZARON



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THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC.



## *Foreword*

The future of every group depends upon the understanding and sympathy of all groups. None can live alone or lift itself by its own bootstraps. This is as true of large groups as it is of small. It is true of nations, of races, and it is true of religious communities. It is particularly true of Jews. No matter what program various Jewish organizations may advance as insurance for the security of Jews, no matter how valid the program may be, it must take into consideration the feelings, attitudes and the willing cooperation of the non-Jewish world. Jews cannot solve by themselves alone the colossal problems of relief, immigration and reconstruction. The success of Jewish effort in Palestine, for instance, is dominantly dependent upon non-Jewish opinion. For this reason, many Jews have been greatly troubled at the claims and methods of Zionist propaganda.

The wholesale slaughter of innocent men, women and children, the attempts to exterminate all Jews because they are Jews, the well-nigh incredible tragedy of Jews, needed to be brought to the attention of the preoccupied world. The desperate need to save as many as could be saved, to find homes in Palestine or anywhere else, could not but stir the humanitarian instincts of the entire world. And while it is true that factors beyond the abilities of statesmen to change often made it impossible to do all that was needed to be done, never in history has there been such outpouring of sympathy and efforts to ameliorate the tragic position of the Jewish multitudes. The hearts of Christian and Jew alike beat in sympathy with the stricken and driven, and lay and official opinion united in the determination to see what could be done. It is an unparalleled chapter in the history of the Jew.



Introduction of the political demands of the Zionists, however, identification of their program with philanthropic and relief needs, assumption that these demands and this program represent the will of the Jews of America, sorely confused the most important issues: How best save our brethren and utilize Palestine, prepared as it was economically and geographically, for large-scale immigration. Warm hearted Gentiles and Christians, stirred deeply by the tragedy, not understanding the Jewish nationalist philosophy of life and its implications, not knowing the division among Jews on these questions and desiring only to help and rescue unhappy people, lent their names and influence to the Zionist program. It seemed that all American Jews, willy-nilly, were to be committed to the nationalist philosophy of life and the program involved in the Zionist political claims centering in Palestine. A leading Zionist spokesman in an interview in Washington, as reported in the Baltimore Sun of March 31, 1944, "made a veiled allusion to the political strength the 4½ to 5 million citizens of the United States can wield in a presidential year. He said that American Jews constitute the world's 'largest and strongest Jewish community.'"

The American Council for Judaism was called into being several years ago to give substance and voice to that large segment of American Jewish opinion which, while friendly to Palestine reconstruction, rejected the Jewish nationalist philosophy of life and its immediate expression in the Zionist demands for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine under Jewish control, and the setting up of a Jewish State. The Council opposed the White Paper, which would put a halt to Jewish immigration into Palestine. It envisages a future democratic government in Palestine on the American model.

In order to bring some clarity into the confused picture and to

place its views before the Jews and Gentiles of America, the *Information Bulletin* of the American Council for Judaism printed a leading editorial on April 30, 1944. This editorial made clear the difference between the support of the nationalist Zionist political program and its demand for a Jewish Commonwealth or State and the plea that the terms of the White Paper on Jewish immigration into Palestine be mitigated. It quoted a widely syndicated editorial that the "humanitarian issue of relief should not be confused with the entirely different political dispute over Zionism and the creation of a Jewish State." The editorial pointed out that because of the hitherto unchallenged Zionist claims, many Gentiles "were led to believe that friendship for the Jews necessitated the acceptance of the Zionist formulas; and so they made that acceptance, although with misgivings. They signed statements; gave endorsements; joined organizations; embarked upon activities—all for the purpose of helping persecuted Jews. And in so doing they found themselves taking part in the Jewish nationalist struggle for political objectives. . . . It is now becoming clear to them that they need not stifle their distrust and misgivings. It is dawning upon them that the Zionist program is not essentially one of relief and rescue."

It was thought useful to send copies of that statement to some Christian ministers, teachers and leaders, and to seek expression of opinion from them. This was done, with important and illuminating results. Of over 150 letters received, the vast majority welcomed our statement as clarifying a confused situation. Many had not known there were differences of opinion among Jews on the matter of a Jewish State. All of them expressed the deepest concern to help our stricken co-religionists. Quite a number of them, troubled by serious doubts as to the wisdom of the Zionist program, had nevertheless expressed sympathy with it because

they believed it was "what the Jews want." Some, while believing it was wrong and would work harm to Jews in Palestine and everywhere else, were constrained to silence for fear of being called anti-Semitic. The vast majority expressed unqualified approval of the Council's opposition to Jewish nationalism and its present political aims. Many feared that these aims would create barriers between Jews and Gentiles and work more harm than good. A considerable number frankly welcomed the opportunity to express their irritation at Zionist methods and propaganda which they described as a disservice to Jews, to America and to the world. They believe that Jewish nationalism and the propaganda for a Jewish State will accentuate prejudice against the Jew, will create friction here and probably bloodshed in Palestine. Practically all of them welcomed the distinction the Council has drawn between relief and politics. Palestine as a haven, Palestine as a center is one thing; Palestine as a Jewish State is quite another. The distinction, they feel, is valid.

I believe it not only interesting but important that these views of our Christian friends be made known. It is singularly important that our fellow Jews realize there is a considerable body of friendly Christian opinion that is seriously concerned about this issue and that does not support the Zionist demands. It is important for Gentiles to know that among Jews themselves there is a considerable and growing judgment that Jewish nationalism and the Jewish State are not the way.

MORRIS S. LAZARON

Rabbi, Hebrew Congregation  
Baltimore, Md.

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*The text of the editorial on which CHRISTIAN OPINION is expressed in the following pages appears at the close of this pamphlet.*



## Christian Comment

WILLIAM W. ADAMS, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

"I agree heartily with your non-nationalist position with reference to the Jews."

HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, *Gettysburg, Pa.*, Lutheran Theological Seminary.

"I am opposed to political Zionism."

GEORGE WILLIAM ALLISON, *Fort Wayne, Ind.*, Minister, First Presbyterian Church.

"It is my impression that the charitable inclinations of many Christian people (and others also) have been somewhat restrained by their disinclination to become involved in the political aspects of Zionism."

ROBERT G. ARMSTRONG, *Concord, N. H.*, Minister, N. H. Congregational-Christian Conference.

"I appreciate ever so much your sending me the *Information Bulletin*. My position is pretty much that of yours."

EDWIN E. AUBREY, *Chicago, Ill.*, The Divinity School, University of Chicago.

"Those of us Christians who are genuinely concerned both for justice to the Jew and for happier relations between Jews and Christians will welcome any statement that serves to disentangle the fundamental moral and religious issue from other political questions. Being a Christian I speak with diffidence regarding the national aspirations of Jews, but I must confess that it seems unfortunate to me that at a time when we are trying to transcend nationalism the Jewish contribution to world culture should be conceived in nationalistic terms. I say this without passing any judgment regarding the so-called White Paper except insofar as it suggests clear anti-Semitic attitudes. It seems to me more important, as your *Bulletin* suggests, to work for freedom of movement and settlement of Jews in any part of the world."

E. BURDETTE BACKUS, *Indianapolis, Ind.*, Minister, All Souls Unitarian Church.

"I am one of those who, while entirely sympathetic with the Jews, have had grave doubts about the Zionist movement. The statement

which appears in the *Information Bulletin*: 'We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world' seems to me the only sound position to take and I am glad to have seen this expression of conviction by the American Council for Judaism."

BERNARD IDDINGS BELL, *Providence, R. I.*

"It does seem too bad that when one thinks of Jewish desires for the coming peace, instantly the thing which flashes into mind is merely the question of what happens to Palestine. The Zionist has done us all a disservice in this, because the thing about the peace that ought to concern the Jew is that it be made according to those difficult but necessary moral principles which characterize the religion of the later prophets and of the Talmudists.

"It has never seemed to me that Zionism made sense. I have listened to Stephen Wise about it at length, with no change of my opinion. Jewish nationalism is an evil thing, like any nationalism. The destiny of the Jews is not confined to Palestine, nor need it center there, a thing which the better prophets long ago discovered and on which many of the later rabbis insist. The destiny of the Jews is religious. Most of them simply cannot see that it is so; but it is so for all that.

"I am pleased that the American Council for Judaism takes the line it does. I pray God your opinion may prevail."

REV. ERNEST VANDEN BOSCH, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Pastor, Wissinoming Presbyterian Church.

"I have read with interest and approval your *Information Bulletin* No. 12 enclosed in your letter to me. Writing as a friend of Israel, I can say that I think your distinction made between the humanitarian issue and the Zionist political movement is a sound one."

IRWIN E. BRADFIELD, *Waukesha, Wis.*, Synodical Executive and Treasurer, Wisconsin Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

"The statement quoted from a former issue of the *Information Bulletin*—'For our fellow Jews we ask only this; equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals. . . . We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world' lifts the 'Jewish question' out of the realm of political and religious controversy within and without Judaism, and merits the support of all freedom loving people of all nationalities and creeds.

"Such statements should gain friends and secure support for a nation-wide and world-wide settlement of the acute problem of saving the Jews of Europe from further injustice and persecution in the post-war period.

"May your efforts be effective in the presentation of this justified claim for your brethren among all humanitarian and religious groups. Such a program has my hearty approval and support."

HARVIE BRANSCOMB, *Durham, N. C.*, Duke University.

"I can say, however, that the distinction it makes between the humanitarian and the political aims of the Jewish people is one which opens the door for the fullest cooperation of Christian people everywhere with their Jewish brothers.

"What a good many Jewish leaders appear quite unable to realize is the difference in attitude which most Christians have toward efforts to find places of refuge for persecuted Jewish populations, with full opportunities as citizens in those countries, as well as to eliminate anti-Semitism everywhere, and toward a national political program which seems to create almost as many problems as it solves."

HORACE J. BRIDGES, *Chicago, Ill.*, Chicago Ethical Society.

"I am quite willing to repeat what I have said, and printed many times in the past: that for Jews to argue that there is a 'Jewish people consisting of all Jews' is to play straight into the hands of their enemies. For the first argument of anti-Semitism is that a man can't be a patriotic citizen of two nations at once, so that a member of a Jewish nation can't be a loyal American, Englishman, Frenchman, or what not.

"If you make any public use either of this letter or the publications referred to, please make it clear that I didn't obtrude this opinion of mine, but expressed it only in response to your request."

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Minister, Erie Avenue Methodist Church.

"The appeal of the Jews is certainly stronger, when it is not identified with any political program."

E. FAY CAMPBELL, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

"It seems to me you have done a great service. It is a tragedy that so often it looks as though we are not concerned about the problems which face American Jewry unless we are ready to endorse Zionism."



WILLIAM DOUGLAS CHAMBERLAIN, *Louisville, Ky.*, Louisville Presbyterian Seminary.

"I deplore anti-Semitism as much as anyone could. Personally I feel that the Zionistic movement cannot hope to succeed in the world as it is. My own feeling as a friend of the Jew is that his best future is to be a good citizen of the country in which he resides and if he continues in his Jewish faith to be a cooperative minority winning the respect of the majority group by the high quality of his life and character. Some of my very warm friends are of the Jewish faith and I respect them very highly for their character and worth to the community. The movement to make Palestine a Jewish homeland runs into centuries of Arab rights and privileges which naturally the Arab resents. Of course in a sense the Arab is an interloper but he is so thoroughly entrenched that he has acquired certain rights by his long residence. I agree with some of my very fine Jewish friends that Palestine is helped economically as well as otherwise by the presence of her present Jewish colonists and that there should be room for more Jewish residents of Palestine. But I cannot help feeling that their best prospect is to be good citizens there, and civic leaders, leaving room also for the Arabs."

ALLEN E. CLAXTON, *New York, N. Y.*, Pastor, Broadway Temple-Washington Heights Methodist Church.

"I believe the American Council for Judaism has stated my position in its *Information Bulletin* when it says, 'For our fellow Jews we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals. This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration.

"'We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world.'"

DR. HENRY SLOAN COFFIN, *New York, N. Y.*, Union Theological Seminary.

"I have been in Palestine and feel that Zionism is no true solution and also that it would seriously complicate Jewish-Christian relations in this country and in other lands. Therefore, your course has been one which I have been in sympathy with one hundred percent. You can count on



me for any assistance that I can give as a non-Jew and you have my heartiest sympathy."

T. M. CUNNINGHAM, *Brownwood, Tex.*, History Professor, Daniel Baker College.

"I am glad to receive your statement of position regarding the persecuted Jews in Europe, and the clear disentanglement of that question from the issue of political Zionism. I am thoroughly in sympathy with your statement and would heartily support a movement to establish a refuge for suffering Jews in Palestine, although I am opposed to unlimited settlement of Jews in that land, on the basis of Zionism."

H. E. DANA, *Kansas City, Kan.*, President, Central Baptist Theological Seminary.

"I am entirely sympathetic toward the point of view represented in your bulletin. It is my conviction that every race should have its own equal rights and that the persecution of the Jew has been both unwise and wrong. I feel, nevertheless, that the promotion of equal rights for the Jews should as far as possible be kept separate from any political interests."

MERLE L. DAVIS, *Richmond, Ind.*, Administrative Secretary, American Friends Board of Missions.

"We feel that you and Dr. Magnes of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, have a far more wholesome point of view than the political Zionist Movement."

J. W. DECKER, *New York, N. Y.*, International Missionary Council.

"I found myself deeply interested in the opinion expressed in your letter and in the *Bulletin*. One of my outlook cannot help but respond at once to the presentation there made."

MERVIN MONROE DEEMS, *Chicago, Ill.*, Professor at Chicago Theological Seminary.

"It seems to me that the problem regarding Palestine is unusually delicate and will not be easily nor readily solved. A great deal of the difficulty, I feel, arises from the promises—either formal or indirect—which Great Britain has made to both sides. I quite agree with your position that this is a very poor time in which to press the matter of the Zionist movement. I fear that the Jewish cause will be weakened rather than strengthened by attempts at this time on the part of the nationalists

to create a Jewish state in that country. On the other hand, I have the feeling also that the Jewish people who have wandered over the face of the earth for so many centuries with no land of their own have every right to their original country. It seems to me they have prior right; but this in turn does not solve the problem created by the fact of thousands of Arabs who have put their life savings, many of them, into Palestinian real estate and who naturally wish either to maintain control of the land which they have purchased or else to sell it at a fair price. While it is conceivable that Palestine could become even more a refuge for homeless Jews than it has been in years past, it is hardly possible to dissociate what would result from this procedure from the general question of control or government of the territory concerned. This would be especially true if, in any sense, there were to be erected anything like a democratic system of government. If Palestine were to become again the Jewish homeland, what becomes of the Arab who is already there? Would it be possible to have him exchange his land for holdings say in Transjordan? Perhaps one of the best things that could come out of this war would be the creation of a joint committee for study of this problem—a committee composed of representatives from the Jewish people in Palestine, from the Arabs there, from the British government, and from the United States. It is my feeling that this delicate problem will need to be studied over a considerable period of time, but that is not to say that its solution is hopeless.

“May I thank you again for your courtesy in sending me the article and may I wish you and those who work with you in behalf of the American Council for Judaism every success.”

MARK DEPP, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*, Minister, Christ Methodist Church.

“It seems to me that your analysis of the situation is quite right—that is, far more of us are interested in the plight of our Jewish brethren as a human problem than we are with their political ambitions and aspirations.”

GEORGE WEST DIEHL, *Corpus Christi, Tex.*, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church.

“To me personally, the Jew belongs to no one nation, any more than a Catholic is an Italian because of the papal seat in Rome, or a Presbyterian is a Scotchman because of the work of John Knox, or an Episcopalian is an Englishman because of Henry VIII. Consequently, I am of the

opinion that were the Holy Land to become a Jewish Commonwealth nothing of real value to the Jew would be achieved and much of that which is of value would be lost. The local rabbi is my friend, I admire him as a man of God and a cultured gentleman, and I esteem him for his civic leadership. Were he a citizen of the Jewish state in Palestine, if such were created, it would not enhance my opinion of him one iota. Many of his congregation are 'friends of the first name' with me, too, and what applies to their rabbi, applies equally to them. I know them as Jews, just as I know the local Bishop as a Catholic or one of my Protestant colleagues as a Baptist. Catholic, Protestant, Jew—we are all true Americans and faithful to our religious idealism. What else matters?

"It is my personal conviction that the agitation of Zionism is not the path to the solution of the Jewish problem—as some term it. The integration into the life-stream of the nation of which they chance to be citizens, giving the uplift of the noble idealism that has characterized their people through the ages and demanding by life and work that esteem of the public which would spell death to anti-Semitism, would be productive of far more good than the creation of a religious nationalism. The contribution the Jews can make to the advancement of America is vital and citizenship, whole-hearted and undivided, in such a nation is most necessary for the rich maturity of Jewish culture."

J. GEORGE DORN, *San Francisco, Cal.*, Pastor, St. Mark's Lutheran Church.

"Your analysis about Zionism is absolutely correct. I am afraid that most of our information about Palestine and the problems there have come through too many channels. I share your anxiety and the wisdom of your approach to its solution."

FRED EASTMAN, *Chicago, Ill.*, Chicago Theological Seminary.

"I heartily approve the article entitled 'Real Versus Pressured Opinion' in the *Information Bulletin* of the American Council for Judaism, Inc., of April 30, which you so kindly sent me. Certainly 'this humanitarian issue of relief' should not be confused with the entirely different political dispute over Zionism and the creation of a Jewish state. Many Christians like myself feel that we do not know enough concerning the complicated issues involved in Zionism and the creation of a Jewish state, but I think there is general agreement among us that we want to do all in our power to help protect the persons and the rights of Jews, and to relieve the sufferings of those who are oppressed."



ERROL T. ELLIOTT, *Richmond, Ind.*, Secretary, The Five Years Meeting of the Friends in America.

"I am definitely interested in making America liveable for all races and creeds, but I must confess I have yet to be sold on the Zionist Movement."

BENJAMIN F. FARBER, *New York, N. Y.*, Pastor, Fourth Presbyterian Church.

"I believe that a great service has been rendered to the whole issue by this distinction and I am heartened by it as I think of the future, not only for the Jews but for the rest of the world."

NELS F. S. FERRE, *Evanston, Ill.*

"Your distinction between a special political program and general political rights for Jews everywhere has rendered many of us a great service. Those of us who hesitate to endorse without qualification Jewish aspirations for political possession may, as I do, be utterly anxious to preserve, achieve and maintain general political rights for every Jew everywhere."

DONALD F. GAYLORD, *San Francisco, Cal.*, Pastor, Grace United Church of the Mission.

"I am in cordial agreement with you. I am sure the Zionist issue has embarrassed many sincere friends of the Jewish people. I myself have never been convinced of its feasibility, yet have always been very much concerned to oppose anti-Semitism in all its forms and to urge a Christian attitude and treatment toward the Jews."

G. H. GEBHARDT, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Pastor, Old First Evangelical and Reformed Church.

"I agree heartily with the discriminating clarification of the real problem."

FRANK D. GETTY, *Newark, N. J.*, Board of Christian Education.

"My feeling is that it would be much better for the Jews to place less emphasis on their political identity and to stress the place which they may well occupy in national groups that are already organized. In my judgment this would be better not only for the Jews but for the various nations where they may live and where they may make their contributions to current civilization."

H. CORNELL GOERNER, *Louisville, Ky.*, Comparative Religion Missions, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

"It was with genuine satisfaction that I read this statement and learned of the existence of a group of Jews and friends of persecuted Jewry holding to the non-nationalist position. Without question the idea of political Zionism has been an embarrassment to many who were desirous of aiding the Jews for humanitarian reasons, but who had serious misgivings about the methods and the ultimate aims of every Jewish or Jewish-Christian organization which had made itself vocal on this matter. I personally have withheld my endorsement of other such movements because of the unsound political and racial implications of their proposed programs. If your letter and *Information Bulletin* No. 12 represent an accurate statement of the position of the American Council for Judaism, then it has my hearty approval and cordial support."

F. C. GRANT, *New York, N. Y.*

"In adopting a purely religious standpoint, I believe Judaism is, or will be, far stronger. Our battle is for ideas, not nations—in the first instance. Hitler is intoxicated with 'racism,' though there are no 'pure' races in the world. Let us not imbibe the same maddening potion!"

CLAYTON T. GRISWOLD, *New York, N. Y.*, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

"It had seemed to me that some of the Zionists were making the same errors for which they were so rightly condemning the Nazis. The position maintained in the *Information Bulletin* of the American Council for Judaism is one that I could sympathetically support, both as a Christian and as an American."

CAROLUS P. HARRY, *Washington, D. C.*, Secretary, Board of Education, United Lutheran Church in America.

"I am grateful to you for sending me a copy of the *Information Bulletin* of the American Council for Judaism.

"I am happy to say that I am in entire sympathy with the position outlined therein especially with the paragraph quoted from an earlier issue on page 2.

"It has long seemed to me that Zionism is a mistake. In these days when the nationalism of the last century has so clearly revealed its inability to direct the affairs of humanity peacefully and progressively, to seek to establish another national sovereignty on a racial basis is

very foolish. What we want is recognition of racial equality not only for Jews but for all people everywhere. There is only one door to future progress for mankind, it is by realization of human equality and willingness that each and all shall live according to the light God gives each man in the fellowship of all his brethren."

REV. H. J. HEAGNEY, *Stuttgart, Ark.*

"Personally I am wholeheartedly in favor of the non-nationalist position, as I believe the future of the Jew is bound up in the land in which he dwells. Viewed from the Christian standpoint, the Zionist movement seems retrogressive but I would not wish to foist my personal opinion on the sincere Zionists. Rather let each individual make his own choice, provided always that it does not interfere with the rights of others.

"I believe that the Jews of every nation should enjoy the same freedoms and rights of the other people and that the properties which have been wrongfully wrested from them in the most demoniac persecution of the Jew in all history should be fully restored; that restitution should be made for the slaughter of innocent people or such restitution that can be made; that after the war, the Jewish people should be allowed to return to their former homes, if they so desire.

"Let us not forget that the frightful evidences of Nazidom are no more than the activation of the spirit of intolerance advocated here in these United States by the Ku Klux Klan. Had that baneful movement flourished here as did its counterpart in Germany (Hitler's religion of the super-race) even this cradle of freedom might have experienced a similar reign of terror. Nazism will soon be exterminated abroad. Let every worthy American resolve that it shall not spread its deadly propaganda across the Atlantic. We must be vigilant. America is and always shall remain the land of liberty, tolerance and brotherly love."

EDWARD A. HENRY, *Cincinnati, O.*

"May I express my unqualified approval of the work the American Council is doing? I have long been increasingly irritated at hearing American Jews talking about a 'Jewish National Home.' I have asked the questions, 'What do you mean by Jewish National Home? Are you not an American? Do you mean that you want to give up your American citizenship to take citizenship in a Jewish National Home? If so, then I consider you disloyal Americans and I am not interested in you or your work.'



"Your plan avoids this—to me—very serious problem. More power to you!"

LOUIS C. HESSERT, *Plymouth, Wis.*

"From your letter and bulletin I think I understand your position and your insight in the whole problem. You are on the right track for the future. Not only the present position of the Jews is involved. I hope able men will respond to your appeal."

FRANK S. HICKMAN, *Durham, N. C.*, Dean of the Chapel, Divinity School, Duke University.

"Your statement is admirably clear and satisfying. It suits me exactly. I am one of those who have never been able to go all the way with the political aspirations of the Zionists, but am in full sympathy with any effort to secure for the Jewish people political, religious and social freedom anywhere in the world—including Palestine."

GEORGE C. HITCHCOCK, *Terre Haute, Ind.*

"The semi-political nature of so many movements makes it difficult for us to help without being dragged into the fight quite aside from the real moral issue of freedom for your people."

E. G. HOFF, *Elgin, Ill.*, Editor, Sunday School Publications.

"I think the Zionist political movement marks a retrogression from the real mission of the Jews, but no effort should be omitted to give your people equal rights and privileges with others. The world needs the Jewish spirit and culture, not a Jewish state."

MILTON J. HOFFMAN, *New Brunswick, N. J.*, Theological Seminary.

"I happen to be a member of the Palestine Committee, although frankly I cannot be as enthusiastic about the political and nationalistic aspirations of the Jews as some of my fellow Christians are.

"Could I feel sure that the Zionists are right, I would want to throw the weight of what little influence I have in that direction. Because I am not sure, I am definitely uncomfortable when with my Zionist friends. The way I feel now, I must take my stand with you, for the reason that I fear greatly lest the present Zionist agitation may backfire. Unless the fortunes of the war take a far more constructive turn than now seems possible, I am afraid that latent anti-Semitism here may flare up rather desperately. My fears may be unfounded, but for all that they are very real."

CONRAD HOFFMAN, JR., *New York, N. Y.*, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U. S.

"I personally have always opposed the creation of a Jewish political state in Palestine, for that matter anywhere in the world. With the history of the Jews being what it is I regard such an attempt as retrogression rather than progress. Furthermore, I feel that our Zionist friends however sincere they may be are jeopardizing the rescue of Jews from Europe which today is an urgent emergency by stressing the political aspects of Zionism."

E. G. N. HOLMES, *Bethlehem, Pa.*

"Your communication is at hand. It is a great pleasure to know that you and those whom you represent have rejected the idea of Zionism. That project is fraught with the danger of racial conflict and suffering. 'Equality of rights and obligations' with your fellow nationals is your just due and your effort to achieve it will be supported by all good citizens. Success to you in your work!"

HARVEY D. HOOVER, *Gettysburg, Pa.*, Lutheran Theological Seminary.

"Thank you for your informing letter, together with a copy of the *Information Bulletin* which I have read with keen interest and profit. I certainly am in accord with the sentiment quoted from a recent issue of *Information Bulletin* in column two of page two of this *Bulletin*."

JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, *Grand Isle, Vt.*

"May I respectfully and fully agree with your own able opinion, that no such secondary issue ought to be allowed to complicate the much more serious issue of how to help the Jewish people out of the misery which has been so cruelly inflicted upon them in Europe. There ought to be some way to assure the Jewish people that they will be fairly treated where they live."

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, *Madison, N. J.*, Dean Drew Theological Seminary.

"I think the distinction you emphasize between a national Jewish state and a movement to secure Jewish rights everywhere is of the utmost importance. The sentence you quote representing the position of the American Council as given in a recent issue of the *Information Bulletin*, 'We ask no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world,' puts the matter in just the right perspective. Many men

and women of goodwill who hate the persecution of the Jews with all their hearts have been confused at the point of knowing just how to make this opposition effective without becoming entangled in political problems in respect of which they were not ready to speak. Your statement clarifies the whole situation."

ALLAN A. HUNTER, *Los Angeles, Cal.*, Minister, Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church.

"Having lived in Palestine, as a worker in the American Red Cross unit, during the latter part of the last World War and for several months following it, I am impressed with the complications attending any effort to turn that blood-soaked land into a nation with the kind of sovereignty that an exaggerated sense of nation-worship implies. I have never been happy about any emphasis on nationalism, even if that emphasis was proclaimed by Jews whom I as a Christian am in honor-bound to befriend (not in any patronizing sense but because of a deep sense of indebtedness). It will indeed be a great service to us who are dedicated to inter-racial reconciliation if an arrangement can be made so that we can work for equality rather than political supremacy however restricted that supremacy is. When I say, following the words of the *Information Bulletin*, that I would like to 'resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world' my commitment has to be made clear: it is not to be with military force but with the kind of force that tries to overcome evil with good. This is the kind of resistance which Jews have released into the world through certain of their prophets and preeminently through Jesus. It should be called super-resistance. It does not need bombers or the fever of nationalism to make it effective."

WILLIAM A. IRWIN, *Chicago, Ill.*, University of Chicago.

"As a deep admirer—I may almost say a lover, of Judaism, I have been much disturbed by the political objectives that have captured Zionism and with it apparently a large part of the Jewish people. It is, to my mind, as mistaken as the nationalism that took arms and fought to the bitter end against Titus—and as dangerous to Judaism in its possibilities and implications. And it is all so false to the genius of the Jewish people as clearly written in the pages of history. Yet I have been in the difficult position of believing deeply in Zionism—of a non-political sort; I have seen some of its remarkable achievements in Palestine and



sensed its still greater promise. It has been clear to me, however, that such faith does not carry logically support of ruinous political schemes. Yet here has been my difficulty; the vast majority of my Jewish friends are ardent political Zionists and equate Judaism with their political views. It is a great satisfaction to me that there exists a significant group, represented by one so eminent as yourself, to whose views and ideals, so far as I understand them as yet, I can give unqualified support."

E. JEROME JOHANSON, *Hartford, Conn.*, Hartford Theological Seminary.

"I believe you have put very clearly the position of many Christians. As fellow human beings we cannot help but sympathize with our Jewish brethren. As Christians we are bound to render you our assistance. But we have not always felt comfortable about the Zionist program, yet have hesitated to oppose it. I am grateful to you and your group for the opportunity you have given of expressing to you our Christian love and willingness to assist you in every way without committing ourselves to a political program which only a part of your people espouse, and which does raise many questions."

WALTER D. KALLENBACH, *Llanerch, Pa.*

"There is no doubt about it that confusion and misunderstanding concerning the Zionistic movement and the plight of the Jew will only cause greater misunderstandings in the future. It is imperative that an intelligent and sympathetic presentation of the needs, hopes, and future of the Jew be understood by all. The Jew must learn to be a good neighbor in Palestine and he must be treated as a good neighbor by all others out of Palestine."

C. W. KEIRSTEAD, *Lawrence, Mass.*

"Thank you for your fine statement. You have put the proposition fairly—'in defense of the fundamental rights of all men—Jew and Gentile alike—to be free from bigotry, persecution, and discrimination.'

"This is the issue, apart from all political considerations. Let us rest our case here and as Christian and non-Christian alike be prepared to support each other in defense of this inalienable right."

GEORGE H. KLING, *Albany, N. Y.*

"I am in sympathy with the statement on page two, column two quoted from the *Information Bulletin* as stating the solution of your aspirations as well as anyone can express them."

JOHN W. LAIRD, *Philadelphia, Pa.*

"It seems to me that the interest of Christians in our afflicted Jewish brethren in all parts of the world is purely human, and has very little, if anything, to do with the Zionist program."

ANDREW M. LOWRY, *Fort Wayne, Ind.*, Minister, Third Presbyterian Church.

"I find myself entirely in agreement with your enclosed statement."

FRED MACARTHUR, *Quincy, Ill.*, Minister, Central Baptist Church.

"I am very much impressed by the *Information Bulletin* published by the American Council of Judaism Inc. This information should be in the hands of every loyal Christian."

S. VERNON McCASLAND, *Charlottesville, Va.*

"For years I have been interested in aiding in movements to further fraternal relations between Jews and non-Jews, but I am convinced that political Zionism only intensifies the evil of anti-Semitism."

RAYMOND E. MENDENHALL, *Georgetown, Tex.*, Chairman, Friends Board on Prohibition and Public Morals.

"I am ready to fight to the last ounce of energy to give the Jew an equal chance, wherever he may be. To ask for more is an injustice to the Jew as well as to the one deprived of his rights through such extra favors."

JOHN HOMER MILLER, *Springfield, Mass.*, Minister, Hope Congregational Church.

"I think the Council for Judaism is doing a great service in clearing the atmosphere by separating the cause of the Jew from the political issue. The Council is strengthening democracy all along the line in asking for the Jewish people only the equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals. With such a position, I feel sure multitudes of Christian people will wholeheartedly endorse the stand of your Council. Surely the future will bear witness that you have strengthened the Jewish position."

F. CROSSLEY MORGAN, *Concord, N. C.*

"My first reaction is certainly in agreement with your position."

RT. REV. ALOISIUS J. MUENCH, *Fargo, N. Dakota*, Bishop of Fargo.

"Personally, I have always felt the Jews were hurting their cause by

placing themselves in a position of nationalistic isolationism. Your reasons for the position you take appeal to me."

JAMES MUILENBURG, *Berkeley, Cal.*, Pacific School of Religion.

"During recent months I have been greatly concerned over the aggressiveness of the Zionists, and I can assure you with genuine sobriety and great emphasis, that in many instances their propaganda is having precisely the opposite effect from what they intend. Indeed, it is my profound regard for the Hebraic genius that inspires such deep disquietude over what is happening today. I do not think it is too much to say that the aggressiveness of certain Jewish and Christian groups is proving a boomerang and actually inspiring greater anti-Semitism.

"I write, therefore, with a sense of gratitude to you and your fellow workers for their perpetuation of what is, after all, the true genius of the Jews. Your position seems to me to represent a continuity of Hebrew prophetic attitudes, while the nationalistic fervor of many others seems to me to undercut the very thing which makes Hebraism such a supreme reality in the life of the world."

A. J. MUSTE, *New York, N. Y.*, The Fellowship of Reconciliation.

"I am one of those who has had misgivings about what seemed to be the chauvinistic character of the Zionist program. Its effect on racialism, etc. It is a source of encouragement and inspiration to know that there are people like yourself and your associates who are witnesses in these troubled days to Judaism's great message of a universal moral order and universal, brotherly human society.

"With my prayer for the divine blessing on your work in these crucial days."

H. RICHARD NIEBUHR, *New Haven, Conn.*, Professor, Christian Ethics, Divinity School, Yale University.

"My fundamental position on this whole subject is this: the problem of humanity today, so dramatically presented in the plight of the Jews, but also in the sufferings of other oppressed groups, is the problem of realizing in political forms what is actual in the situation—the unity of the race. To this unity under God, Jews and Christians have given testimony through the ages, partly by words but also by being communities of a definitely international or supernational character. At this moment in world history nothing would be more tragic than the nationalization of these religious communities. If for the sake of security from persecution some Jews find it necessary to work for the creation



of a great international refuge, protected by the great powers, that may be a good thing, but my first duty as a Christian is to the international Jewish community which expresses by its very existence, by its diffusion through many nations, by its common worship and ethos, the loyalty to one kingdom of God above all the nations, just as I must work in the Christian Church for the realization in worship, organization and humanitarian action for the expression of Christian loyalty to the over-arching, real though hidden, universal reign of God. As a method of relief the creation of a national Jewish state may have its points; as a method of realizing the one thing that is all-important now, the actual human community, it seems a retrogressive step. So far as relief is concerned, therefore, my own first interests will be given to those measures which tend to give the Jew relief from persecution in the places where he now lives or through migration to countries where he can have freedom to carry on his great religious work of reminding men that they are first of all members of the one universal society, subject to the one universal law and moving toward the one common destiny. Jews have helped Christians to become good Christians by keeping before them the principle of an absolute monotheism and by reminding them of the idolatry which is present in their nationalisms. Christians cannot be loyal to what is greatest in Judaism by encouraging Jewish nationalism, however much they need to desist from criticizing that failure in another of which they are themselves guilty.

“As a Christian who recognizes how much his community has offended against the Jews and how natural it is for them to seek safety in the development of a national state of the sort in which Christians have found safety—not without many compromises and betrayals of their faith—I cannot speak against Zionism. As a Christian who, with all natural love for his own national community, puts his faith in something else, in that kingdom about which he learned from the Jews, in the politics of which the Jewish prophets continue to instruct him, my interest is in international and supernational Judaism, as well as in international and supernational Christianity. It would be tragic for the world if the Jews deserted the nations in which they are now scattered and so severed one of the bonds which tie us together.”

WILLIAM C. S. PELLOWE, *Port Huron, Mich.*, Pastor, First Methodist Church.

“I think you are rendering a most excellent contribution to harmony

between the Jews and Christians by circularizing such material. The observation I have is that aggressive Zionism which calls so loudly for national sovereignty in Palestine causes division amongst those who endeavor to maintain a friendly attitude toward the Jewish people. It would appear to me also that the solution of anti-Semitism in the United States will be solved right here within our own borders and not by something attempted across the ocean in Palestine.

"To have aggressive Zionists vociferously make pleas at this juncture of history only adds to anti-British feeling, and thus adds to disunity in the total effort to beat back the arch enemy of us all, namely, Nazism."

CHARLES H. PENNOYER, *Rutland, Vt.*

"I do heartily welcome the consideration and treatment of thoroughly equal right as would open the Holy Land of three of the world's great religions and without involving such a movement in the politics of such Zionism as is nationalistic or onesidedly based."

E. M. POTEAT, *Rochester, N. Y.*

"You have accurately stated misgivings that have clouded my unqualified impulse to advance the cause of relief to the distressed in Jewry."

F. M. POTTER, *New York, N. Y.*, Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America.

"You have done a great service in making so clear the distinction between the 'establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people,' in the words of the Balfour Declaration and the present high pressure campaign for a Jewish state. I am altogether in favor of your position and have no objection to being quoted to that effect. I have never forgotten the pointed comment of an Arab Governor in Iraq whom I visited a few years ago. 'Restoring the Jews to their ancestral home,' he quoted with some heat. 'How far back should we go? Why doesn't Great Britain surrender the British Isles to Italy? After all, the Romans were there earlier.'"

PROFESSOR in a Christian Theological Seminary.

"I am greatly pleased with this statement. It expresses just what many of us have been feeling more and more strongly. I have frequently said to my friends, both Christian and Jewish, that the current confusion of concern for Jewish refugees with commitment to political Zionism was most unfortunate. The very same humanitarian concern, which makes us eager to find a solution for the refugee problem, makes some of us also sympathize with the Arab people of Palestine in their fear

of what Zionism might do to them. To be accused of anti-Semitism for that reason is not only unfair; it is contrary to the interests of the Jewish people themselves. But only a Jew can say this with any hope of convincing other Jews. I rejoice therefore in your courageous stand, and I know what hard names are being hurled at you on account of it. For myself, residence in Palestine gave me the highest admiration for many of the achievements of the Zionists, but decidedly not for the program of aggressive political Zionism."

ELLSWORTH C. REAMON, *Boston, Mass.*, President, Universalist Church of America.

"Speaking for myself alone, I would say that this Council is to be commended for its approach to a most difficult situation. It is my present feeling that the non-nationalist position is sound."

JOHN D. REGESTER, *Tacoma, Wash.*, Dean, College of Puget Sound.

"It did help, more than anything which I had seen, in clarifying the issues involved, and my own thinking on the problems."

J. MERLE RIFE, *New Concord, Ohio*.

"Before commenting on your communications of June 5, concerning attitudes on Jewish nationalism, it is only fair that I declare myself far more a 'Semite spiritually' than the Pope. Due to several factors in my life, I sympathize strongly with such a person as Aimé Pallière. I prefer the liberal, or Reformed, position since historical considerations have made it impossible for me to accept traditional beliefs in any religion. However, I get esthetic or sentimental satisfactions from such traditional symbols as the Seder. I hope and believe that the religion of the future, under whatever name, will be essentially prophetic Judaism in its international and world unifying aspects.

"To comment on the issues you wrote about, briefly and in an oversimplified form: I think of the Jews as a nation that became a religious body. Inevitably traces of nationalism adhere to this religion, but perhaps no more than adhere to Roman Catholicism. Certainly such historical associations, such fossilized remnants, do not constitute nationality. The part they play is subordinate. Therefore, any attempt to restore the temporal power of the Pope or to recreate a Jewish state are reactionary. I should like to see it made possible for as many Jews as care to settle in Palestine. At what point such immigration might begin to infringe on the rights of people already established there, Arabs or what not, I am incompetent to even suggest."



IVAN E. ROSSELL, *Sheffield, Pa.*, Minister, Methodist Church.

"First: I have thought of the Jewish people, not as a race or nation but as a religious group. Accordingly, I like the statement which you enclosed. As a religious group, I think they are entitled to all and any privileges accorded to any other religious group, Roman or Greek Catholic, Methodist, Baptist or Presbyterian.

"Second: Growing out of that conception, I do not think a political state for them is either any more urgent or needed than it is for any of the other religious groups, and that such a development would not be in their best interest, any more than it would be for Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Methodist, Presbyterian or Baptist. In any such development, of a political state under any such group, the danger would be of increased intolerance of any other religious group which might have adherents within its borders.

"Third: I fear political dominance by any such religious group if their religion is made the basis of their political activity.

"For the above reasons I think that the Zionist movement is not the best thing for the Jewish people nor that its attainment of a political state would be to their advantage. I am glad that some of them seem to realize that fact as noted by the statement you sent me."

FRANK G. SAYERS, *Petersburg, Va.*, Minister, First Christian Church.

"The confusion of the religious persecutions of the Jews with the political aspirations of Zionism has definitely done our Jewish friends a disservice.

"From a Gentile mind viewpoint it immediately sets our Jewish neighbors 'apart' from the American citizenship, and the American dream of brotherhood. It announces that our present relationship to the United States is only temporary and partial, awaiting the day of our Jewish Nation and our Jewish Flag in our Jewish Homeland. The majority of Jewish friends whom I have the honor of knowing do not desire to be thus separated, or 'marked out.'

"The American dream of a great brotherhood within the boundary of these United States, each group with its own cultural contribution, each with its own religious emphasis, each aiding the other in making the great American pattern, is as loyally supported by Jews as Gentiles. The Jews of America are desirous of serving America as Americans among Americans. They do not desire to be considered as apart and 'outside' that brotherhood. Religiously they have their own religion, even as you and I. In citizenship and nationality they are American

even as Catholic, Protestant, and skeptic. To make them 'unique as a race' is to mark them disadvantageously within the nation, to make them 'unique in religion' is to recognize in them what is allowed in all peoples, 'freedom of religious belief' without citizenship discriminations. Is that not the American way irrespective of creed or color?"

ROBERT H. SCHACHT, JR., *Providence, R. I.*, Minister, First Congregational Church.

"I think this was one of the fairest and wisest statements published by the Jews that I have yet seen. I believe that a wider expression of this point of view could do much to allay unfounded anti-Semitism which so easily rears its ugly head. I congratulate you on your sound and clear efforts."

OVID R. SELLERS, *Chicago, Ill.*, Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

"With the point of view of your group I thoroughly agree. As a Christian I believe that we should be deeply concerned about providing haven for the suffering and persecuted Jews of Europe, but I do not see that this good work necessitates the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. I should be glad to see the doors of our country opened to Jewish refugees."

FRANKLIN I. SHEEDER, *Collegeville, Pa.*, Professor of Religion, Ursinus College.

"I am in complete agreement with the non-nationalist position of the American Council for Judaism. In my opinion the Jews can best serve their own interests and the interests of humanity as a whole if they, together with their Christian friends, will work for equality of rights and obligations for Jews and non-Jews alike in America and elsewhere in our world.

"While I am deeply appreciative of the high idealism that has for the most part motivated the spokesmen of the Zionist movement, I have always felt that Zionism has tended to sharpen the issue of racism and to suggest the desire for privileged treatment for the Jews."

GAIUS J. SLOSSER, *Pittsburgh, Pa.*, Professor at Western Theological Seminary.

"I heartily concur in the views expressed therein."

J. HOMER SLUTZ, *Knoxville, Tenn.*, Minister, First Methodist Church.

"I agree with your contention that there is more promise for the future of the Jews over the road of equality of rights and opportunities no

matter where they are, than there is over the road of the Zionist movement."

ROWLAND GRAY-SMITH, *Sharon, Mass.*, Minister, First Congregational Parish (Unitarian).

"I hate both the inhumanity of anti-Semitism and the chauvinism of Zionism."

CHARLES J. SMITH, *Salem, Va.*, Roanoke College.

"It seems to me that the idea of a separate Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else is unpractical. I do not believe that segregation of any sort is the real answer to the problem."

THEODORE SHAW SMYLIE, *St. Louis, Mo.*, Minister, Oak Hill Presbyterian Church.

"As a Christian, I am sympathetic to the effort to give relief to the Jewish people and any other people wherever and whenever persecution besets them. However, I have never been in sympathy at all with the idea of forcing a Jewish state into Palestine. I do not believe that it is historically sound—not nearly so historically sound as a movement to give America back to the Indians would be. I doubt whether it is politically wise in view of all the problems concerned. I am quite sure that utilizing the present emergencies for the purposes of promoting this national advantage would backfire sooner or later against those who are striving to secure group favors under the cover of war emergencies.

"Perhaps it is out of place for me to take advantage of your courtesy to add what might seem to be a preachment. But to an outsider it seems to me that the Jewish people would do well to decide whether Judaism is to be a religion, or a race, or a political entity, or a combination. If it is a religion, then Judaism can take its place in the kindly atmosphere that should prevail among other religious bodies. But immediately the national element is added, complications begin to arise and when it is attempted to combine a religion, a race, and a national state, and to secure outside sympathy and help for this objective, all sorts of complications will continue to arise as they have now arisen."

J. RICHARD SPANN, *San Antonio, Tex.*, Minister, Laurel Heights Methodist Church.

"I have read with appreciation your statement upon 'Real vs. Pressured Opinion,' and find myself in complete accord with your position."



CHARLES D. SPOTTS, *Lancaster, Pa.*, Franklin and Marshall College.

"Some time ago you sent me a statement concerning the attitudes of a group which you represented towards the Zionist movement. I have read it and consider it to be a very helpful analysis of the problem, and from my mind has cleared the atmosphere. It is the kind of statement which needs to be publicized among the thinking people of America."

STEPHEN GILL SPOTTSWOOD, *Washington, D.C.*, Minister, John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church.

"Inasmuch as I believe in the oneness of humanity and the ultimate evolution of man to a non-nationalistic human race, I am glad to take the position that the repatriation of the Jews to Palestine is not sound, scientifically or ethically."

N. B. STONEHOUSE, *Philadelphia, Pa.*, Professor of New Testament, Westminster Theological Seminary.

"Frankly it does appear to me that the approach which you take is more attractive and sound than that which insists upon identifying the general welfare of the Jew with Zionism. The political approach seems to me to be not very promising so far as results are concerned, and I am inclined to think that it is, moreover, too superficial in its estimate of the character of the problem."

WARREN HORTON STUART, *Arlington, Va.*

"The printed article seems to me to embody much sound sense on a thorny problem.

"I am not competent to express any worthwhile views on the question of a Jewish state in Palestine, but would surely like to see there a modern democratic state in which anyone of Jewish birth could feel unrepressed and free, welcome and at home. The nub of the problem seems to me to lie in equal and respectful treatment for all Jews everywhere, and the guarantee to them and to all minorities full personal and civil rights."

CALVIN MILES THOMPSON, JR., *Syracuse, N. Y.*, Minister, Delaware Street Baptist Church.

"The statement giving the position of the American Council in the recent *Information Bulletin* is sound and right. I concur heartily. The earth must become a place where opportunity is open to all folk equally."

KARL F. WETTSTONE, *Wichita Falls, Tex.*, Minister, The First Presbyterian Church.

"As Christians, we are not particularly concerned with the political designs of Zionism, but we are eager to defend the fundamental human rights of Jews anywhere in the world."

HUGH V. WHITE, *Boston, Mass.*, Secretary, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

"You have ably and understandingly set forth the attitude of many Christian friends of the Jewish people today. Many of us will be glad to have the distinction drawn clearly between whole-hearted sympathy for persecuted Jews and earnest desire to do something practical to relieve them of their vast burden of suffering and, on the other hand, support for the political program of Zionism.

"In 1936 I was in Palestine—just at the beginning of the disturbances that have caused so much trouble and suffering and have issued in such a maze of political complexities. At that time I got the perspective of the Arab and came to realize that any such ambitions as the Zionists seem to have constituted a threat to the legitimate interests of the Arabs. To put it plainly, it seems to me that there is a fundamental unfairness in the way the Palestinian issue is put before the people of this country where there are many and influential Jews but almost no Arabs. Few Americans can have any knowledge of Palestine to save themselves from being sadly misled by the Zionist propaganda.

"Some time ago I read an address by Dr. Morgenstern in which he made what seems to me to be a very important point, namely, that the effort to establish a Jewish state today moves in the direction of that overemphasis on political nationalism which is the root of much of the present sufferings of the Jews. I am sure that support of the Jewish cause on the part of Christians would be more complete and unhesitating if it could be entirely divorced from all such nationalistic aspirations. I cannot help feeling that a new Jewish state in Palestine would increase rather than lessen the problem of international peace and order and might well contribute to the afflictions of the Jewish people themselves.

"As one who profoundly respects the Jewish people and is filled with horror and dismay as I read of the inhuman treatment to which they have been and are being subjected in Europe, I hope that the point of view you represent will prevail widely among the Jewish communities in this country."

A. GERALD WHITTIER, *Hominy, Okla.*, Minister, The First Christian Church.

"In my humble opinion, the directive of the Jewish peoples as a religious group in these days strikes at the heart of America's sympathetic public opinion, where the Zionist Movement lacks the appeal, and might even become a hindrance to better understandings."

ROLLAND E. WOLFE, *Medford, Mass.*, Tufts College School of Religion.

"I am in hearty agreement with your position and the position of your group as stated in the *Bulletin*.

"The turning to 'political' Zionism at a time when the only issue should have been the seeking of a haven for persecuted Jews has so complicated matters as to alienate most non-Jewish support. This is presumably the reason why our Congress has refused to take a stand.

"At a recent visit to a synagogue I heard the rabbi in his sermon eloquently denounce those who hold views such as you and President Morgenstern as the Quislings of the Jewish community. This seems very unfortunate to me."

HAROLD H. WRIGHT, *Fort Collins, Colo.*, Pastor, First Congregational Unitarian Church.

"I am in complete agreement with you. Have never expressed my opinion regarding the Zionist movement because I didn't feel it was 'any of my business.' But seeing you ask for it, you may quote me if you wish.

"In my judgment, this is no time for an additional nationalism. We are all human beings first and foremost. Our problems are world problems. Sectarianism and provincialism in any field are a disservice to the best interest of any of us."

FRED B. WYAND, *Romney, W. Va.*, The Methodist Church.

"The statement of your facts concerning the non-nationalist position is timely and should be given to the people in general."

N. M. YLVISAKER, *Minneapolis, Minn.*, President, The Chaplains' Association of the Army and Navy of U. S.

"The non-political position which you so ably advocate will, I strongly feel, do more to obviate misunderstandings and to create sympathetic understanding of a difficulty which, while it concerns Jewry primarily, has its implications also for all of us who want to realize to the full the blessings of a democratic way of life such as we enjoy in this country."



## *Real vs. Pressured Opinion*

*Editorial from Information Bulletin, April 30, 1944*

It is ironic, if tragic, that belatedly the Zionist political strategy should discover that defense of the natural rights of Jews as essentially a religious group makes a striking appeal to American public opinion.

What does all this reveal?

We raise this question because success in our efforts on behalf of Europe's Jews depends entirely upon the soundness of our appraisal as to just what is and what is not acceptable to American—and world—public opinion.

One thing that stands out is that there is a widespread sympathy for the plight of the Jews, a gratifying desire on the part of our Christian fellow-Americans to be of help. But it is also apparent that such help is clearest and least equivocal when it presumes an exclusive humanitarian objective; when it is free of political complications and when it is based upon a concept, valid for all Americans, of disapproval of discrimination against Jews as a religious group. Beyond that, there may still be sympathy and even support for the Zionist program but it is a divided support, uncertain, half-hearted.

The questions on political Zionism that discerning American Jews are beginning to raise among themselves, are also being raised by friendly American Christians. Thousands of them have hesitated to express opposition to Zionism only because they have been misled into believing that such opposition bars the way to their expression of sympathy with and concern for the plight of the Jews. But given an opportunity to express their genuine concern, to join in efforts for rescue and equality without

espousing political Zionism, they do so, gladly and with renewed enthusiasm at their freedom to speak out.

This discovery by our Christian friends explains the well-nigh unanimous request for abrogation of the White Paper as well as their hesitancy about supporting the Resolutions' pledge for a "Jewish Commonwealth." Increasingly American Protestants and Catholics are in a position to express what—and just what—they do mean. That is why so distinguished a Christian liberal as Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches in America, in comment on an issue of the *Information Bulletin*, welcomes what he calls "the most clarifying analysis of the Zionist issue which I have seen. The clear distinction which is made between a national Jewish state in Palestine and a homeland for Jews in Palestine is especially helpful." That is why Dr. Robert W. Searle, the General Secretary of the Greater New York Federation of Churches, can write: "I fear an agitation for a Jewish state at this time is a great disservice to the Jews and a great setback to the purpose of defeating anti-Semitism."

These are significant revelations.

It is important that we recognize the painful dilemma in which our Christian friends found themselves. Moved by broad human considerations, by devotion to democratic tenets, and by their religious compulsion of Christian charity and human brotherhood, they have been eager to speak up for the Jews and to help in every way. Because of the heretofore unchallenged Zionist claims, they were led to believe that friendship for the Jews necessitated the acceptance of the Zionist formulas; and so they made that acceptance—although with misgivings. They signed statements; gave endorsements; joined organizations; embarked upon activities—all for the purpose of helping persecuted Jews. And, in so doing, they found themselves taking part in the Jewish

nationalist struggle for political objectives. The misgivings were muted but they remained nonetheless; and they constituted a barrier to a full, forthright and completely integrated participation in the efforts to solve the problems.

There were misgivings on the chauvinistic character of the Zionist program; on its troublesome implications to American life; on its racialism; on its political manipulations; on the embittered relations with the Arabs.

But all of these were accepted by our Christian friends in the belief that to do otherwise prevented their being of help to the Jewish group that so desperately needed help.

It is now becoming clear to them that they need not stifle their distrusts and misgivings. It is dawning upon them that the Zionist program is not essentially one of relief and rescue. They learn from *Congress Weekly* that the political, national aim of Zionism—a “Jewish Commonwealth”—must be given emphasis as against the abrogation of the White Paper. They learn from the *Jewish Frontier* that the Zionist program has as its fundamental basis: “the conviction that there is a Jewish people consisting of all Jews whatever their citizenship and regardless as to whether they are persecuted or not.”

They learn, moreover, of the existence of an organized body of Jews in the American Council for Judaism and a program to which they can give their whole-hearted support without mental reservations, without inner qualms. And many respond gratefully to the position of the American Council as given in a recent issue of the *Information Bulletin*:

“For our fellow Jews we ask only this: equality of rights and obligations with their fellow nationals. This means equality in the countries in which we live and choose to remain; equality to return to those lands from which Jews have been forcibly driven; equality to migrate wherever there is an opportunity for migration.



“We ask for no special privileges for Jews anywhere in the world. We will resist to the utmost the imposition of any disabilities on Jews anywhere in the world.”

Thus freeing themselves of heretofore unuttered reservations about the Zionist program, our Christian friends are the better able to speak out forthrightly in defense of the fundamental rights of all men—Jew and Gentile alike—to be free from bigotry, persecution and discrimination.

**THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC.**

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